304 equipped with a row of embedded teeth, their points sticking out
413 of the outer, convex side of the piece. The opposite side is com-
[237] pletely covered with a thick black layer of beeswax. The teeth are those of the so-called "dog-fish," aikyngapeva in Tapirapé, a scaly fresh-water fish of the Characinidae family, Hydrocyon subfamily, whose colloquial name alludes to its dog-like dentition (cf. Rodolfo von Ihering, 165). The 17 teeth of the scarifier I acquired in Tampiitáua (Photo. 23) jut out three to six centimeters. This piece is eight centimeters long and measures five and a half centimeters at its broadest part.

304 According to information obtained from the Tapirapé, the
881 girls are tattooed during the rainy season following their first menstruation. The operation is carried out at nightfall, between January and March, when there is tall maize, plentiful game crowded together by the rising waters, and much merrymaking as a result of all this. The Indians tattoo their chin and cheeks (Fig. 1). The cheek tattoo reaches below the ear, so that a small part of it is covered by the hair. The crossing vertical
304 and horizontal incisions look like a fine meshed net. This
824 design is called kohova. The wounds are first rubbed with a kaauna leaf (káa, "plant"; una, "black, dark blue"). This leaf, previously squeezed into a turtle shell (chauvatí-ampekuera) full of water, is wet with its own juice mixed in
[38] water. It is the juice of kaauna that yields the indelible dark-blue tone of the tattooing. The leaf is held close to the wound for some time. Then, the Indians blow crushed cotton leaves
[278] with a pipe (amynichó-ha(u)va) onto the wounds. It may be that they do this to alleviate the pain, for the girls cry a great deal [107:115] throughout the operation, and the tattooed parts become terribly swollen (ivuvurá). As at

Fig. 1

302 the time of their first menstruation, the girls have so much urucú
881 in their hair that their coiffure, mixed with the greasy substance, looks like a sort of cap. They are not, however, painted with

! [of the scarification tool.—Analyst]

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampiitáua. [412] According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The 301 Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into 237 the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying [192] which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or emekuaní if a small boy is concerned. Emé means "lower lip" (cheremé, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuaní, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

[802] When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation ceremony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by [881] the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichí in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [824] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great 324 day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi [881] name tembetá, from tembé, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This

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411 secured there with resin. It was previously placed near the fire to be straightened out while still hot. As a rule, however, the rod becomes straight in general orientation only and remains crooked in one or several places. An essentially agricultural tribe like the Tapirapé does not make weapons with the care expended on such work by a hunting tribe, such as the Bororo, for example. The heat of the fire also serves to harden the wood, which is sometimes dyed red or black.

The section of the cane shaft that encircles the rod is bound [824] spirally with a narrow black strip of philodendron bark (vuamé) [314] glued on with resin. This covering is from nine to 16 centimeters long and makes the shaft stronger.

The feathered part (pepá or "wing," pe meaning "path," "direction," "forward motion," and pa meaning "hand") is, on the average, from 16 to 25 centimeters long. Like the Karajá and the Kayapó, the Tapirapé fasten two feathers in opposition to each [237] other at the extreme tip of the shaft. The feathers are usually those of macaws, hawks, or hoatzins. Their stems are tied to the shaft with cotton thread (inimá). The twisting of the feathers, which aims at spinning the arrow in flight, seldom covers a quarter of the shaft circumference and often does not even cover an eighth of it. The barbs of the feathers are crudely cut out [439] with scissors acquired from the Whites, and the half that juts out is broader than the other half. The stem of the feather is slit at the tip and glued to the cane covered with resin. Both spiral bindings of cotton thread are fastened to the shaft with resin. The front one is of [112;55] blackened cotton, about six centimeters long, and holds small red and sometimes yellow macaw breast feathers whose barbs extend backward, that is to say, inside the feathering. The rear binding is of white cotton, about one and a half centimeters long, and serves not only to secure the thinner part of the feather stems, but also to strengthen the tip of the arrow. This tip has an oblique notch (vuatachimeakáua), more than half a centimeter deep, that receives the bow cord. The binding reaches up to this notch, and its third function seems to be that of a tribal marking, for aside from the parallel threads it bears two crossed ones which are, as Krause (2, 270) heard among the Karajá, characteristic of the Tapirapé.

123 437 [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having [533] stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

Chapter 9

[114:185] The Diet

262 824 [772] The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua call the roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. Ayrosa (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc].

[171] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc" (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.). They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII; Métraux 2, 65).

171 252 Like those Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of preparing the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what they call mandiyvungna and what is called puba [manioc mash] by the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de Sousa 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened [251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the mashed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes] and cauí [a soup].

171 and cauí [a soup]. The fresh, grated manioc, after being dried
252 in the sun, put through the sifter, and roasted in a clay pot, yields the flour that goes into the making of certain dishes and that accompanies others by being tossed straight into the mouth with the hand. The Tupinambá had these three ways of consuming manioc, that is to say, the cake, the more or less fermented liquid varying in consistency between a porridge and a soup, and the flour which is added to other foods either in the pot or in the mouth (cf. Soares de Sousa 189 and 196; Simão de Vasconcellos, pp. LXXXV, CXXIX, and CXXX; and others).

Like the Tapirapé and many other tribes, those ancient inhabitants of the coast grated or pounded the manioc roots, dried them in the sun, ran the particles through a sifter, and roasted them in pots over the fire. The only notable difference in the procedures used in making the tubers edible was in the manner of wringing the grated mass of "wild manioc" to extract its poisonous juice. While Hans Staden (q 2) found the tipiti among the Tupinambá of the capitania [Tr., province] of São Vicente, and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (189) found it among the Tupinambá of Bahia, this press of braided palm leaves shaped like a tube or bag (cf. Baldus and Willems 219-220) was not mentioned by the French authors who visited Indians of the same name in other parts of Brazil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (cf. Métraux 2, 104). Claude d'Abbeville (304) says specifically of the Tupinambá of Maranhão that "they take all the gratings from these roots and squeeze them with their hands..." [translated from French]. The
[174] use of the same procedure and the absence of tipiti among the Tapirapé are, therefore, corroborative of the assumption that these Indians came from Maranhão. [Ed., the remainder of p. 186, p. 187, and the first paragraph of p. 188 are omitted.]

[114:188] One variety of "sweet manioc" cultivated by the
262 Tapirapé, called vuaykyra, reaches more than 30 centimeters in
824 circumference and more than half a meter in length. I ate it frequently and with pleasure, boiled or roasted in the embers.

Other tubers that I tried among the Tapirapé, roasted in the
[252] same manner, were from the following plants: (1) a variety of sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas Lam., chetyka in Tapirapé), orange-colored inside and almost like pumpkin in taste; (2) purple cará (Dioscorea spec., urukú-ampaí in Tapirapé), purple inside, shaped

like a turnip, the size of a child's fist, and slightly more pungent in taste than the white carás with which we are familiar; (3) this same white carás, which was imported from the Whites as is shown by its Tapirapé name of mayrangkanakuera (mayra, "White man"; kanã, "carás"; kuera, "that was"), often 70 centimeters in circumference, half a meter in length, and tasteless; (4) a third Dioscoreacea, found wild in the forest and called kanachinga or "white carás" in Tapirapé because the tubers are white inside, which is shaped like a carrot, 20 centimeters around, 30 centimeters long, and as tasteless as mairangkanakuera; (5) a yam that reaches 60 centimeters in circumference and 35 in length (Alocasia spec., iampokumaé in Tapirapé), tastier than the various carás; (7) a smaller yam called uvanchaira in Tapirapé. It is a known fact that the sweet potato and the carás plants are autochthonous to America, while the yams are imported (cf. Hoehne 2, 187). The Tapirapé assert that they cultivated iampokumaé in remote times and remember having received uvanchaira from the Whites.

Hans Staden (v. 3) liked the sweet potato of the Tupinambá and wrote *its name as jettiki*. *The Tupi term* was entered in the vernacular as jetica (Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa [Small Brazilian Dictionary of the Portuguese Language]. 5th edition, 1944). Stradelli (500), in his Nheêngatu vocabulary, [114:189] listed iutyca as the word for "potato." Incidentally, the Tapirapé plant chetyka only in small quantities. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Aside from the tubers mentioned above, bananas are the vegetable food of greatest importance to the Tapirapé. Like manioc, they are gathered by these Indians almost throughout the entire year. At the time of my visit in July, 1947, however, there were considerably fewer bananas and other foodstuffs in the village than in the months of June to August, 1935. In Chapter 2, it has already been mentioned that the generic term chatá or tatá, with which the inhabitants of Tampiitáua designate the bananas they cultivate, resembles the Karajá word for this fruit. In Tampiitáua I ate the following varieties of this Musacea.

(1) A banana 30 centimeters long and from 15 to 20 centimeters in circumference, the largest one cultivated by the Tapirapé and for this reason called tatahó, that is, the generic term plus the augmentative. The neo-Brazilians of the Araguaia call it

262 "long banana." It is probably a variety of the banana da terra
●824 (Musa paradisiaca L., normalis subspec.). During my first stay with the Tapirapé, they ate it every day in large quantities. I, too, never tired of devouring the huge and extremely tasty fruits, with the result that my body acquired the same proportions as those of a horse that feeds on grass alone for months at a stretch.
252 The [114:190] Tapirapé gather these bananas when green and hang them inside the house until they become yellow and ripe. Then they expose them to the sun until they are black outside and turning brownish inside. To achieve this, they place them on wooden frameworks that are erected at the place where the bananas grew, or at some other place regarded as adequate. The Karajá,
[171] who also cultivate these large bananas, bury them too, and so did the Péua (Takunhapeba) of the lower Xingu visited by Von den Steinen (1, 275). The Tapirapé like to eat these fruits when they are not only rotting, but also warm from the immediate action
264 of the sun or from the sand warmed by its rays. They do not peel them, but open the hard skin a little at one of the tips, put the tip between their lips, and slowly empty the skin by squeezing it with their fingers so that the soft and brownish pulp gradually penetrates into their mouths. In this respect I did not agree with the taste of the Indians, for I found these bananas a revolting thing when rotten and preferred to eat them while still yellow on the outside and pinkish-yellow on the inside, when they were already quite juicy.

262 824 (2) The white flesh of one of the larger bananas was not dry either, and its sweet flavor was reminiscent of candy permeated with the scent used by a cheap barber, while its skin was pinkish-green. The Tapirapé name for this fruit is tatampiringõ. Its length is equal to its circumference, that is to say, about 15 centimeters. My camarada called it "purple banana," asserting that among "civilized people" it reaches twice that circumference. It is probably Musa paradisiaca L., sapientum subspec., rubra var.

(3) The banana 15 centimeters long and ten centimeters in circumference, whose white and soft flesh had a mild flavor and whose green skin did not turn yellow, was probably the "São Tomé"
[252] banana. The Tapirapé hang it inside the house and call it inanchanyuí.

(4) The banana called abãbakíngamaé by the Tapirapé is yellow both inside and out and similar in shape and flavor to the tatahʼ banana, although a little smaller and drier.

262 824 (5) Another banana with highly "scented" flesh is also yellow both inside and out as indicated by its name, tatanchova. It is 15 centimeters long and 12 in circumference.

(6) Tatakyra is the name given in Tampiitáua to a green, medium-sized banana that tastes like a very dry potato when roasted in the embers.

[114:191] (7) The inhabitants of this village also cultivate the banana ouro (regia variety of the sapientum subspec.) which in their gardens reaches up to ten centimeters in length and eight in circumference. [Ed., the subsequent paragraph is omitted down to the last sentence.]

[171] The scarcity of bananas noted by Krause [2, 241-242] among the Karajá reveals, in any case, a characteristic difference between these Indians and the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of p. 191, pp. 192-193, and the first paragraph on p. 194 are omitted.]

114 171 824 [114:194] Although the same author [Nordenskiöld] (5, 29 and 76) assumes that in view of the similarity of the terms mentioned earlier the Tapirapé became familiar with the banana through the Karajá, we may note that on the extensive list of names used by South American Indians to designate the banana, which was published by Nordenskiöld along with a distribution map (ibid., 78-85 and Map IV), there is no term resembling chatá or tatá.

262 824 It is worth noting that the paankuá of the Tapirapé also plays a certain role in their diet. In Tampiitáua, this "wild banana" supplies not only leaves for the thatching of houses, but also seeds that the children eat roasted after removing the skin of the pip. The rather bland flavor is vaguely reminiscent of milk and wheat flour.

Among other wild plants used as food by the Tapirapé, the following should be mentioned.

The tree they call ampí, whose red fruits, shaped like cherries, ripen in October and taste like a sweet cherry.

The mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa Gomes, mangaua in Tapirapé), already described by Gabriel Soares de Sousa (210-211), whose yellow-green fruits, resembling small apples in shape and size, ripen in October. They are eaten raw, and without their skins they taste like a roasted apple. According to Hoehne (2, 227),

262 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit"
•824 in the Paresi Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinaua by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled
[252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryun spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvĩpé.

243 These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those
252 mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L.,
262 avandxĩ in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside
824 the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge or cauĩ. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (c 2), auati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatĩ in Stradelli (384), and abatĩ in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

244 The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monovĩ in Tapirapé) are
252 pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded,
262 and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected
824 to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn into cauĩ. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

262 [114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the
824 Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts,
[462] maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century
[241] Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that re-
[751] quires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's first two years so as not to endanger his life.

137 The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem
17 to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found
244 by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of

137 Pimenta Bueno in the state of Mato Grosso and described by Hoehne
171 (1, 21-22 and Table 190; 2). Like it, the Tapirapé monovĩ differs
244 from the "common peanut" (Arachis hypogaea) in its size, which is much larger, for its pod may reach seven centimeters in length and its seeds two or three centimeters. According to Hoehne (1, 22), each specimen of Arachis nambyquarae may yield from 50 to
262 100 pods. Owing to its oil content and abundance, the peanut is of some importance in the Tapirapé diet and also was one of my favorite foods during my stay in Tampiitĩua. Krause (2, 241-242, 358-359, and 387) does not mention this plant among the Karajĩ, Javahé, and Kayapó. A legend I heard in July, 1947, at the Karajĩ village of Santa Isabel, however, states that a civilizing hero of that tribe, the evening star, taught them to plant peanuts among other things.

244 Less important than peanuts to the Tapirapé were the large
262 flat beans [Tr., lima beans], slightly larger than those of Europe.
● 824 Only a few individuals cultivated them, planting them in small quantities. Their Tapirapé name, kumanĩ, corresponds to comendá in Soares de Sousa (200) and cumandá in Montoya (2, II, 105v) and Staden (427). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] The large Tapirapé bean seems to be a variety of [114:198] Phaseolus lunatus L. and thus to belong to the same species as the beans mentioned by Anchieta (Hoehne 2, 107), Thevet (ibid., 132), and Soares de
[252] Sousa (ibid., 211-213). In Tampiitĩua, it is boiled in small earthenware pots. Then its green skin is removed. Underneath this skin, the bean is white. I ate it with great pleasure.

Smaller than these beans are the round yellow fruits of a leguminous shrub cultivated by the Tapirapé and called kumanĩ-yvyraĩ, "bean-shrub." The neo-Brazilians plant this shrub on Morro da Areia [Tr., a high outcrop hill on the Araguaia River] and other places in the region and give it the name anduzeiro. This name might lead us to assume that the plant belongs to the Cytisus cajanus Lin. species.

262 The Tapirapé use the fruits of certain Cucurbitaceae as recep-
824 tacles after removing the flesh, and they use those of another variety
252 in the same family to prepare a highly prized dish with the juice.
[485] This juice is heated, and as it begins to boil it is mixed in with pounded raw maize; the boiling mixture is stirred for ten minutes until it thickens. Sometimes they add crushed peanuts. In this

252 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The
262 fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30
324 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is koruanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name cruá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruí, cruá, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the camabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheêngatú vocabulary (438), curíua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

Kamairahó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to
249 Tampiitáua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plan-
263 tation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any.
114 The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent
[177] import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the
[171] Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my *rapadura* [*Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps*].

These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language),
252 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as al-
262 ready mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupí-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampiitáua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people
171 present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked
252 it. Hans Staden (q.v.) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the
262 same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw.
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4: Wagley E-5, (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

755 In the midst of this process he stops several times to suck on the body of his patient and finally, with one awful heave, he spews all the accumulated material on the ground. He then marches in this mess to the intrusive object that has been causing the illness. Never once did I see a shaman show the intrusive object to observers. As one treatment a Tapirapé *paniè* usually repeats this process of "eating smoke", sucking, and vomiting several times. Sometimes, when a man of prestige is ill, two or even three shamans will cure side by side in this manner and the noise of violent vomiting resounds throughout the village.

One other method of curing was observed. During an epidemic of fever Pantxri made a collective cure to drive fever out of the village and disinfect the people of the village against it. Two men were dispatched to collect wild honey; this was then mixed with water, making a weak honey mixture. Pantxri, after first smoking for a time, went from house to house taking the honey mixture in his mouth and spraying it over the house and its occupants. He carefully sprayed and massaged the patients who had fever and removed the foreign substance from their bodies. For several hours he worked, spraying both the inside and outside of the houses, including the central ceremonial house of the men. It was explained that the honey alone did not have a therapeutic effect against fever but sprayed from the mouth of a *paniè* it drove away fevers.

755 795 828 Shamans also protect the Tapirapé against ghosts. All people who see ghosts faint from fright or from the white substance with which the ghost covers their body. Shamans were called to blow smoke over them and to massage this substance from their bodies. During one funeral dance the shaman Pantxri "saw many ghosts" in the environs of the village, recognizing some as long-dead relatives of the deceased. By blowing tobacco smoke about and by going among the ghosts with a large mirror he drove them away before they did any harm.

756 842 82 Shamans are necessary in several other life situations other than illness. For instance, shamans are thought among the Tapirapé to control the pregnancy of women. While pregnancy is known to be related to sexual intercourse, conception is thought to take place only when a shaman "brings a child to a woman". Several species of birds,

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[101] that all participants in the tãtũpũũa [90] are called this. Nothing could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

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624 The word tãtĩ is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs
[194] from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

[192] The word upũũa means "everything eaten."

The word tatũpũũa may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

264 Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life.
574 Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.
574 The eating groups are not important to marriage: some of the
[611] men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while
173 the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ', was a Panarĩvũína. As I lived in
[622] Kamaira 5's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

264 Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers
574 and sisters.
574 Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life,
[609] namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond oc-
[621] casionally bringing together the inhabitants of different homes from birth to death.

264 At certain times the entire population of the village gathers to-
574 gether for the tãtũpũũa, which at such times is not really a feast
621 carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kauihó, or "bad kauĩ" (literally, "big kauĩ" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the
[252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kauĩ, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

According to my Tapirapé informants, "today" is in, "tomorrow" is ãntxeivé, "yesterday" is designated by the number antxepé, "one," and "day before yesterday" by mokõimi, "two." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the exact and numerical reference to a past event seldom goes farther back than mokõimi, "day before yesterday," since as a rule they do not count to mapit, "three," preferring to say vuaitépe, "much "(in quantity), or mo (or mũ), "far away" (a word that designates great distance, in space as well as [93] time, and that is perhaps related to mombiri, "far away," in Montoya). Concerning the future, on the other hand, they frequently say ãntxeivé, "tomorrow," although they may be referring to a time later than the following day.

Since not only the computations of time but its direct denominations as well are invariably abstract, however, it is more convenient to the Tapirapé mentality to use mostly indirect designations by grounding the references to past and future times in concrete phenomena. Thus, they indicate the time of day by extending their hand in the direction of the place where the sun was or will be at the time in question. By what I saw, and also by what Krause (p. 339) mentions, the Karajá [Caraja] proceed in the same fashion.

If certain events took place several weeks or months earlier, the Tapirapé pinpoint them chronologically by showing with the hand the degree of development of certain plants at the times in question, for example, the height of maize or sugar cane. If several years have gone by, the Tapirapé narrator extends his hand to the height that a certain person had reached at that time. This person is usually the narrator himself, if his age enables him to do so. If he is about 50 years old and thus stopped growing dozens of years ago, but wishes to indicate an event that occurred five years earlier, he will use a child five years old or older.

It should be mentioned, finally, that the words kaém, "daybreak," and kanúk, "nightfall," are also used for purposes of orientation in geographical space, the former meaning "east" and the latter "west." Judging by the explanations given to me by the Tapirapé, the concepts of "north" and "south" are lacking among them.